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Fellowship

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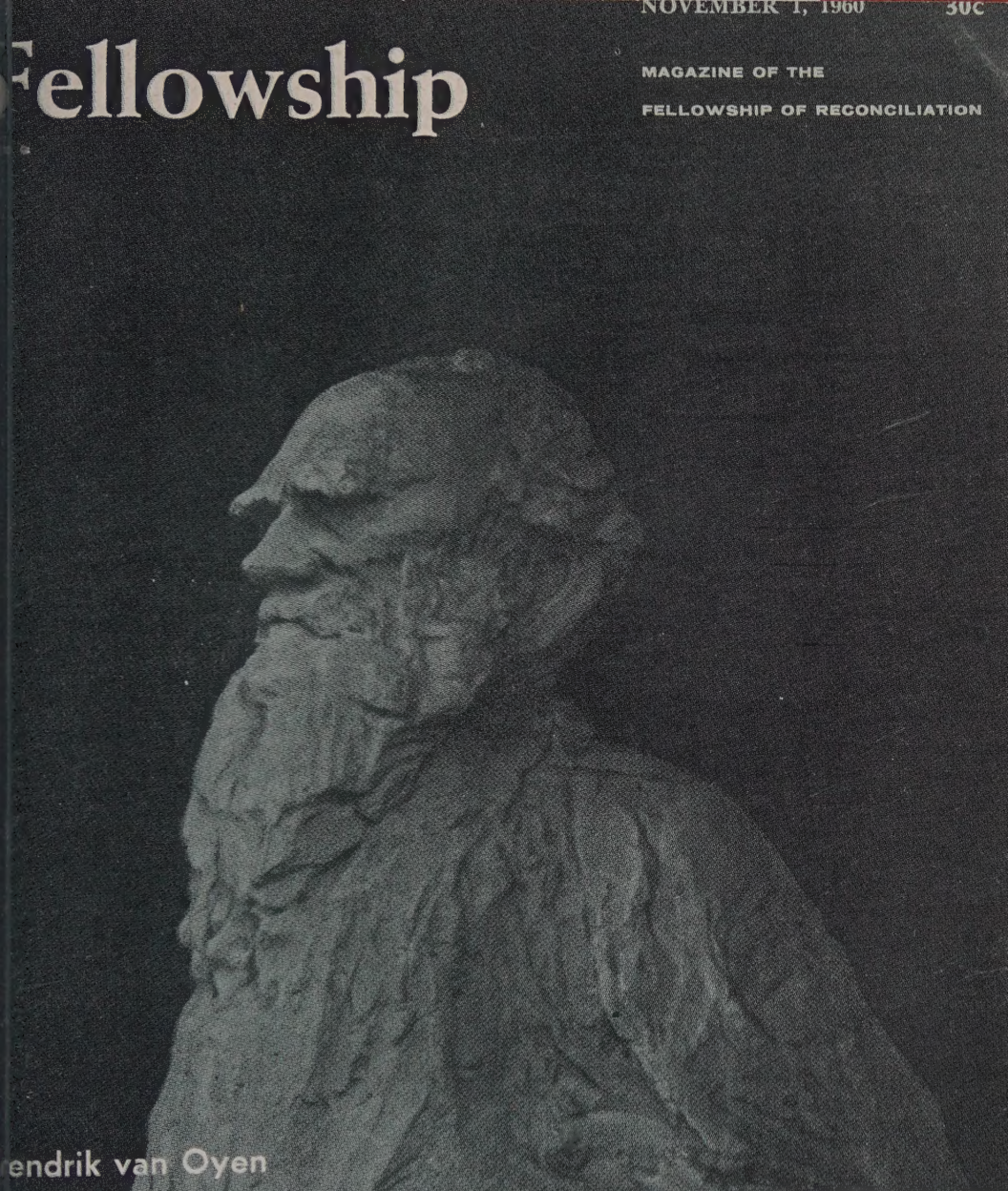

endrik van Oyen

LEO TOLSTOY
AND THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Roland H. Bainton — THE WILL TO PEACE
Stephen King-Hall — THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT
A. J. Muste — NUCLEAR PACIFISM AFTER THE SUMMIT
Paul Peachey — AGAPE IN TOKYO

Also in this issue: A LETTER FROM BORIS PASTERNAK
Potpourri: Robert O. Blood on strategies for social change

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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COVER PHOTO: Statue of Leo Tolstoy in peasant attire by Boris Korolev, 1925, after a painting by Ivan Repin.

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See inside back cover for list of officers, staff and advisory council. An abbreviated form of the Fellowship's statement of purpose —"That Men May Live"— appears on page 36.

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

RAY FOR PEACE

The Christian Century, responding to a legram from a group of theologians, has litorially endorsed their proposal that the ntire nation be called to prayer for peace. hough not wholly accepting their desig- ation of the times as "the supreme crisis history," the *Century* acknowledges that e are in a "great crisis," and wonders if he National Council of Churches ought ot to propose such a "great movement of rayer for peace."

The *Century* observes that "true prayer ill not be a substitute for action," and urely the original proponents of the idea ould agree. But is action the only other oncern? What about attitude? As Amer- an Christians prayed for God's inter- ces- ion in the interests of peace, what would e their mental picture of the meaning of uch intercession?

"Lord, we thank thee that we are not as ther men, like that butcher Khrushchev nd the tyrant Castro and that awful char- cter over in China. Thou knowest how icked they are, and what terrible things hey have done, and how they are threat- ning us peace-loving Americans. Please ntercede, come to our rescue, cast them own, and give us peace."?

In the light of the general tone of ser- mons and editorials alike in this country, is it cynical to suppose that most of Amer- ica's prayers would sound like that?

And that the Founder would have recom- mended something more like this?

"God, be merciful to us sinners! We have been greedy and lacking in compassion in some of our dealings with other nations. We have not put our trust in thee, but are busy making virulent germs with which to infect thy children, and thermonuclear bombs with which to scourge thy creation. We have repaid evil with evil, and walk proud in our military and economic strength. We have crammed our grain ele- vators and our storehouses with nine bil- lion dollars worth of surplus food while millions of men go hungry. We have sinned, Lord, and we repent. Help us to learn how peace is made."

We do not have a pipeline to the Al- mighty, nor have we come up with any- thing novel. It's all in the Textbook, friends. A humble and a contrite heart comes first; *then* the prayers.

YOU'RE ANOTHER!

We understand, even if we do not com- pletely agree with, the solemn contention that a state cannot be expected to guide its behavior by as high moral standards as an individual may set for himself. Our question is how to keep the state's repre- sentatives from messing up everything we've been trying to do with the kids, who are now getting old enough to read the papers.

You know how kids are. Judy accuses Donald of taking her seat on the swing when she went in for a minute to get a glass of milk; Don shouts back that just last Tuesday Judy's cat messed up his bed; Judy shrieks why shouldn't he, because Don didn't empty her wastebasket last Sat- urday; Laura enters the fray with the word that Judy shouldn't talk because she bor- rowed her (Laura's) best doll without ask- ing; and the house is filled with tears, recriminations, and general ill will. In the midst of this Momma and Poppa go prowl- ing about exhorting all and sundry to be calm, to acknowledge their own misdeeds instead of the other fellow's, to try to un- derstand the other one's point of view and seek to work out the whole problem to- gether. We thought we were getting some- where, too, until the October meetings of the UN Assembly, which set us all back a long way.

As we said, the kids can read, and be- sides, they watch television, and they can't understand what's wrong with the swing- milk-cat-wastebasket-doll routine if it's okay for Ambassador Wadsworth to say that

China should be kept out of the United Nations because the UN has only "peace-loving" nations in it, to which Premier Khrushchev retorts that an African UN delegate couldn't get a meal in the U.S. without his credentials, which brings back the snappy response from Mr. Wadsworth that any American (which presumably includes Negro sharecroppers in Mississippi) has more freedom than any Communist anywhere. How *do* you explain that kind of thing to kids?

(ED. NOTE: Part of the above is an exercise in what is known as poetic license, and in fairness to the kids the record should be set straight. They really *do* understand why they shouldn't behave the way Messrs. K. and W. did; the real problem is how to explain to Messrs. K. and W. and their colleagues why *they* shouldn't.)

APOLOGY

While we're making corrections, we owe an apology to a number of big corporations for an unintentional injustice done to them in the October 1 issue of this publication. A news story in that issue reported an attack on the FOR by Major (the Rev.) Edgar C. Bundy in the newsletter of the Church League of America, of which he is editor, executive secretary and "temporary" chairman. Mr. Bundy has made a full-time career of discovering "Communists" at work in all kinds of unlikely places such as the National Council of Churches, the National PTA and the Girl Scouts, and is one of the leading lights of the strange assortment of Americans busily undermining civil liberties in the name of freedom.

One always wonders how these individuals are financed, since the euphonious-sounding organizations they represent are usually of the type they themselves refer to as "letterhead lobbies." In Major Bundy's case, the answer seemed to be hinted at by the listing as sponsors, in bold type in his own brochure, of 32 leading corporations and a foundation, and we referred to this in our story, noting the presence in the list of such giants as Sears Roebuck, United States Steel, and the Sun Oil Company.

Just because it's good to check such things, however, we also wrote a letter to the president of each of the corporations inquiring if it was so. We are now happ to report that it is apparently not so. Thr weeks after the letter was sent, fiftee corporations have replied, *and every o has categorically denied sponsorship of t Bundy work.* By coincidence, the vic president of Sears Roebuck telephone from Chicago and the head of the U. Steel Foundation from New York to a sure us of their innocence. Sears Roebu had searched their files for years back, a had other corporations, and found n record of any contribution to Bundy o the CLA; the U. S. Steel man said his co poration thoroughly disapproves of th Bundy type of activity. Several corpora tions have indicated that they have som earnest questions to put to the major.

We thought you should know, and we'r glad to put the record straight.*

FRANCE AND THE C.O.s

A deepening tragedy of our times is th situation of France, which many observer believe is on the edge of civil war o fascism or both. The country that has given so much to the concepts of freedom and democracy is deeply entangled in the bit ternesses of the Algerian war, from which it has not been able to extricate itself Gen. DeGaulle, brought to power by those who thought that he would suppress the rebellious Algerians, now seems largely iso lated from both that disillusioned group and from the large body of French opinion that shows growing revulsion against the continuing cruelty of the war. Some com mentators believe that he will not be able to retain power for another year, and that the legal instruments of dictatorship which he has created but not himself abused, will then fall into less scrupulous hands.

Against this trend is the new and dra matic reassertion of moral judgment re vealed by the arrest of many leading French intellectuals for encouraging mass refusal by French youths to accept military service. Such mass refusal is becoming a fact, stimulated by the individual cases of conscientious objection over the years, and by the vigils and demonstrations in protest against the Algerian war.

In all of this French FOR members,

* A more complete, mimeographed report on the Bundy attack is available on request.

notably Lanza del Vasto, founder of a French Gandhian community, have played a leading part, and the entire French FOR has now pledged its full support to the movement. "We have endeavored to give support [to the COs]," writes del Vasto, "in such a way that this refusal of war is not a matter of desertion, of flight, of joining the enemy or of the formation of underground movements of rebels or exiles. We wish this to develop into a conscientious objection, rightly conducted without plotting, without deception, without compromise, without accepting other forms of violence."

The French members of our Fellowship face the danger of imprisonment or worse for their faith and ours. They need to find funds to support the families of their imprisoned comrades, some with as many as six and nine children. We should have them in our thoughts and prayers as France's tragedy deepens and they try valiantly to bring light into its darkness.

RUEFUL REPETITIONS

India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru committed the ultimate *faux pas* when he remarked, just before he left for home, that the United States and the Soviet Union are more alike than any other two countries. He called them "machine civilizations," and said they would become even more similar in the future.

* * *

I. F. Stone: "It takes more than one generation fully to appreciate the nuances of a theology which makes mass incineration of the atheistical excusable, or to grasp an ideology which teaches that millions of fellow workers may justly be liberated by thermonuclear intercontinental ballistic bombardment."

* * *

Methodist Bishop F. Gerald Ensley: "The church has become so much like the world that it has lost its power to change the world. Instead of the church insisting the world be Christian, the world has insisted that the church be worldly . . . Society segregates itself—so we segregate . . . The nation gets into a war—the church hurries into uniform."

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Nuclear Pacifism

AFTER THE

Summit

BY A. J. MUSTE

At intervals during a short journey to Europe in the summer of 1960, mainly for the purpose of attending an informal conference of churchmen from East and West and also the Puidoux III theological discussion on the problems of Church and Peace, I read the second volume of Isaac Deutscher's trilogy on the life of Leon Trotsky. It is the volume entitled *The Prophet Disarmed,* which deals with the 1921-1929 period, i.e. from the close of the Civil War in which Trotsky organized and led the Red Army to the moment only eight years later when he was expelled from the Soviet Union, never to return.

At the beginning of the chapter in which he describes the fierce conflicts among the men who had led the 1917 Revolution, conflicts which ended in the literal extermination of practically all of them by Stalin, Deutscher speaks of them all as in the grip of forces which they imperfectly understand and which are beyond their control. "As the struggle proceeds," he observes, "a mist envelops most of the characters. . . . We are struck by the inconstancy and futility of their behavior, even though we may discern their motives. Every one of these men is completely absorbed in the business of the day or of the moment, and utterly incapable of looking beyond it and forestalling next day's evil. Not only Stalin and events drive them to their doom—they drive each other. . . . The imposing figures of the leaders shrink and dwindle. They become helpless victims of circumstance. The giants turn into moths rushing blindly and chasing each other madly into the flame."

Somehow these observations seem applicable to the days in which we live. Certainly when Eisenhower and Khrushchev, these two men wielding unprecedented power, seemingly in a position to make decisions which might shape history, arrived at the Summit at last, they suddenly seemed to "become helpless victims of circumstance . . . moths rushing blindly and chasing each other into the flame." Since then the earthquakes in Chile and elsewhere seem like awesome symbols of how, in the political sphere also, vast upheavals are under way over which individuals and organizations seem to exercise little control at least for the moment. One has but to mention Tibet, Turkey, Japan, Korea, the Congo, Cuba. All this is in strong contrast to the feeling which preceded the collapse of the Summit Meeting that the world was going to experience a time of relaxation and stabilization.

The presidential election campaign in the United States, during which discussion of foreign issues is largely blurred and there is in effect no government to deal with foreign affairs, further serves to give the present moment an air of waiting and of watching events, rather than of grappling with them.

The impression I got about the peace and pacifist movement during a short stay in which I had the opportunity to confer with persons from nearly every European country—including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic—was that for the movement this is not a period of clarity and drive but of transition, tentative exploration, even hesitancy. Events seem to be too much for the organizations working for peace and for their leaders. This holds good also, perhaps even more especially, for the churches and religious pacifist elements.

Germany Rearms

Germany, which means West Germany in this context, is of course the crucial spot; and West Germany today certainly differs from the Germany of the Kaiser, or the Weimar Republic, or the Nazi regime. For some years after World War II there was a strong movement against rearmament. It did not suffice to offset the pressure of the United States and of Adenauer. Provision for conscientious objectors was, however, written into the law, when the German military establishment was revived, and there are a considerable number of COs, both among church youth and others. These are things virtually unknown in Germany in the past. But the number of COs is not large enough to have a definable impact on national policy.

For a time the Social Democratic Party (SPD), with strong support of Protestant elements typified by Martin Niemöller and others, held out against nuclear armament and advocated some form of disengagement and neutralization for Central Europe. While the SPD still maintains a mildly critical attitude toward certain aspects of the Adenauer-U.S.A. nuclear policy, essentially it has decided that it will be as "patriotic" as Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. It will fight the next election campaign on domestic issues.

As for the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID), Christian pacifism received serious attention in that church for the first time in the post-war period. Martin Niemöller's open espousal of the pacifist position in an address in Evanston in 1954 while the Assembly of the World Council of Churches was taking place there, and his joining the German FOR were dramatic evidences of this development. In the summer of the following year the first Puidoux Theological Conference was held at a place of that name in Switzerland. Held on the initiative of the Historic Peace Churches and the IFOR, it was the first real encounter since Reformation days between pacifist theologians and writers and important theologians of the Lutheran and Reformed churches on the European continent. The latter had generally regarded the Historic Peace Churches as "sects" and their biblical interpretation as hardly worthy of notice. At Puidoux it was recognized that there were elements in the pacifist position and writings which were valid and required consideration by the main body of Protestantism.

The Synod Considers Pacifism

There followed, partly perhaps because of the impetus given by Puidoux, a remarkable upsurge of what is commonly called nuclear pacifism in EKID, particularly in the Brotherhoods—organizations of Christian renewal involving both laymen and clergy. So successful was this movement led by such well-known figures as Niemöller, Gollwitzer, Iwand, Vogel, and others that at the Synod of EKID in 1959 this position which totally rejects nuclear war and holds that any support of nuclear war or preparation therefor is sin, came close to winning the support of a small majority of the synod. The synod decided, however, just to state that there were different points of view, that the members were divided on this issue, and that they hoped that under the Gospel the church will eventually find its unity again.

For this position to become the majority one in a National Council of Churches anywhere in the world, including the United States, would have represented a drastic change and would certainly have precipitated profound concern in both church and government circles. In Germany, with its Lutheran background of anti-pacifism and what amounted to subservience to the state, even the development that took place was virtually a revolutionary one. The situation is, of course, greatly complicated by the fact that EKID

functions in both East and West Germany, which poses the question of what would happen to relations between the two regimes, what would be the effect on the power relationships in the whole very sensitive Central European area, if the Protestant churches in West Germany were to become pacifist or near-pacifist.

However, at the meeting of the Synod referred to, the majority did not press their case or seek to make their position that of the church as a whole. On the organizational level, EKID adopted a course such as established organizations invariably do in such a crisis by putting the issue off: no decision was taken at the Synod meeting in 1960, and it seems not clear at the moment whether there will be one in 1961. Theoretically, this might be a favorable development for the anti-nuclear war elements, giving them the opportunity to carry their case to the church members, the majority of whom as yet hardly understand what renunciation of nuclear war means and as of now would not be likely to support it if they did understand its implications. But the visitor to Europe this summer finds that this is not being done. For the present, nuclear pacifist elements in Germany are not growing and have probably received a setback. In the atmosphere of the post-Summit period and in a West Germany where concern about West Berlin and about the German defense position dominates, conservative if not reactionary elements in the churches are digging in. A vivid illustration of the trend is conveyed by a recent incident involving Martin Niemöller about which I was told. Niemöller had been scheduled for months to make an important address on the issue of Christians and nuclear war in a leading church outside his own diocese of Hesse-Nassau. (Incidentally, he still maintains the presidency of that diocese, but it is the only important office in the German church which he does retain.) A short time before the date of Niemöller's address, he was informed that the church would not be available since it was needed on that date for a meeting having to do with instructing German youth in their Christian duty as soldiers. The Niemöller meeting had to be shifted to a nearby school!

Such developments lead to certain reflections of which peace workers need to take account. For one thing, there is the persistence of the pattern of the armed nation-state and of the virtual worship of that collectivity by its citizens. One might have supposed that the German people after having twice experienced the material and moral catastrophe of a major war, would have firmly rejected the idea of again building up armaments, entering into military alliances, and the rest. I recall saying to German audiences six years or so ago when the resistance to rearmament was still strong, "If, after your experiences, you acquiesce in the revival of an armed state and involvement in the power struggle, how in the world can you expect *any* people to resist such trends?" And there was, of course, great opposition to rearmament at first. But steadily the Adenauer policy—rearmament, the NATO alliance, the tough line against Russia—has prevailed, not without plenty of prodding from the U. S. State Department and the Pentagon.

State Worship

There has been, I surmise, one psychological gain. There is much less of the idolatrous, almost psychopathic, worship of the state than prevailed among large sections of the German people in the past. Symptomatic, in this connection, is the fact that the paper which received most attention at the recent Puidoux III Theological Conference was by the brilliant and celebrated Professor of Church History at Göttingen, Dr. Ernst Wolf. The paper dealt with the famous passage, Romans 13:1-7, which begins, "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities." This passage has been used for centuries to support the authority of the state, its "right" to wage war and so on. This has been particularly the case in the Lutheran churches in Ger-

many and elsewhere. Professor Wolf asserted that it was nonsense to suppose that in this passage Paul was setting forth "an ontology of the state," the basis for the doctrine which has dominated both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. All he was doing was making a few practical suggestions as to how the Roman converts should handle themselves in a difficult situation. The moment Christians begin to make some sort of imposing philosophical construct of the nation and to open the way for any extreme patriotism—nation worship—they leave Paul behind and deny the supremacy of the one law of love in all spheres of life. As I have suggested, I think there is fairly wide acceptance of this point of view of Prof. Wolf's, and much less state-worship, than in the past. But the practical outcome so far seems to be a feeling of helplessness in face of the revival of the military state, and among young people a good deal of political indifference and cynicism, rather than effective popular resistance.

Secondly, the phenomenon that in EKID the trend toward nuclear pacifism has at least temporarily been halted, rather than breaking through to new positions, at the very moment when its advocates had a near-majority in the Synod, is a timely, albeit unpleasant, reminder to peace workers of the power, the rigidity, the deep-seated inertia of a great social institution, in this instance the church. I do not think for a moment that this indicates that we should diminish our efforts as Christian pacifists in the churches, whether it be in Germany, the U. S., or elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the difficulty of moving an established institution to a new position emphasizes the crucial importance, the indispensability, of such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Historic Peace Churches, which have a clearly defined position, which maintain a prophetic witness, and therefore face the church as an institution with a perpetual challenge. I was told that in Germany now quite a number of important church leaders, recognizing the difficulty of influencing the church as a whole, recognize also the necessity of the FOR and are on the point of joining.

A third reflection arises from the impression I get that the pacifists and nuclear pacifists in EKID evidently had not thought through fully either the content of their position and message or the strategy to be followed in the event of securing a majority in the church's highest policy-making body. Not only the Germans, however, but all of us very much need to do more work at both these points. What precisely do nuclear pacifists stand for? What is their message to individuals, to government, to the church? And what is their or our course when, as seems inevitable, the nuclear pacifist position really gains ground? At that point, the conservative forces that call for unity, protest against rocking the institutional boat, etc.—and how vast is the investment of the ecclesiastical institutions these days!—will take the offensive or at least dig in firmly. Then difficult questions arise as to whether people must break with the institution, split it perhaps, or compromise for the sake of unity. It will be well to give some thought in advance to such strategical problems.

East-West Dialogue

This is a suitable point to note that in the post-Summit situation where, as we have suggested, it seems difficult to find a handle to tackle the war issue directly, Europeans, including churchmen, are increasingly absorbed in seeking to develop East-West contacts and "dialogue." It was indicative of this emphasis that among those who attended the Puidoux III Conference were a number of Eastern churchmen. They included a theologian so well known in the West as Joseph L. Hromadka of Prague, two other Czechs, several East Germans, and from the Soviet Union an Orthodox member of the faculty of Leningrad Seminary carrying credentials from the Patriarch Alexei, a Lutheran archbishop from Esthonia and the secretary of the All-Soviet Baptist Union. Considerable attention was given both in Conference sessions and outside to trying to understand each other's views and the limitations under which churchmen in both East and West work, as well as to the knotty problem as to whether such a thing as joint East-West Christian organization for peace is possible. The consensus at Puidoux III was that it was, on the one

hand, unfortunate that there was less hard theological discussion of pacifism than at earlier Conferences; but on the other hand, essential to keep on exploring ways in which the unity of those professing the Christian faith could be realized and given practical application in the urgent pursuit of peace.

In closing I shall comment briefly on the current situation in Great Britain and on the Assembly of the World Council of Churches—the first one since Evanston 1954—to be held in New Delhi late in 1961.

Nuclear Disarmament in England

The situation in the British peace and pacifist movement seems to me similar in certain respects at least to that in Germany. For several years, as FELLOWSHIP readers will know, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has grown steadily. Its demonstrations have been phenomenal. It is still very strong but, I surmise, not confident about what lies ahead. To no small extent due to the work of CND, the proposal for unilateral nuclear disarmament has gained many adherents in the Labor Party and the big unions, and not only among rank and file but among important leaders.

The proposal has in fact won so many adherents that resolutions for unilateral nuclear disarmament, including abandonment of U. S. missile bases, were adopted by a clear majority at the annual Labor Party Conference in October. But just what political results will follow—whether this majority will mean a breakthrough to new steps toward disarmament with more decisive support—is highly dubious.

Once again, institutional weight and inertia will almost certainly be thrown into the scale. In one sense the Annual Conference makes policy for the whole Labor Party, but in fact what is known as the Parliamentary Labor Party, composed of the Labor Party members sitting in Parliament, is not governed by the Conference mandate. This year the Conference passed a resolution establishing itself as having the "final" authority, but it remains to be seen whether this ruling can be made to stick with the Parliamentary L. P. Among the members in Parliament there is no majority for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Here again one gets the feeling that, for the time being at least, men are the victims of the situation, certainly not in firm control or possessed of an unclouded vision as to the direction in which to move.

New Delhi Church Assembly

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches met in Glasgow in August to advance the preparations for the New Delhi Assembly. These lines are written before even oral reports of the Central Committee meeting are available, but there are no indications that anything will happen in Glasgow to invalidate what is said here.

The preparations for New Delhi are being made at a highly critical period in the international power struggle and at a period of the most intensive development in the technology of weapons of mass extermination. There are as yet no indications that New Delhi will attempt to deal directly and creatively with these problems.

It will be recalled that in August 1958 the CC meeting in Denmark received a report from a Study Commission on "Christians and the Prevention of War in an Atomic Age." There were only two pacifists on that Commission of fourteen—Douglas V. Steere of the U. S. and Hannes de Graaf of Holland, both FOR members. The Commission nevertheless startled the CC and a lot of other people by asserting that it if came to a choice between using nuclear weapons in an all-out war against another people and military surrender, Christians would have no choice but to advocate the latter.

This assertion by a Study Commission did not, of course, make it the policy of the World Council. One would have thought, however, that it was urgent to set in motion a serious process of discussion so that it might be determined whether

his was or should be the World Council position and, if so, what were the implications for church and state. The Geneva office of the WCC has, to put it moderately, not been aggressive during the past two years in promoting discussion of the Provisional Study Document. It was not put into print, in which case it might have had a wide circulation among church members. Furthermore, the Commission was not called to meet again for two years, in order, among other things, to study the alternative of nonviolence which, according to its 1958 report, it had not had time to consider seriously. In the summer of 1960 there was some indication that the Commission might be called to meet again at a date not yet determined, but obviously it would now be difficult to meet, discuss, prepare a report, submit it to the CC and circulate it among church people, or even church leaders much before New Delhi convenes.

This does not mean that pacifists, nuclear or otherwise, who are concerned about these matters cannot do a good deal still to see to it that before and at New Delhi they are discussed among theologians, students, clergy, and church members. It would surely be a tragic, even a monstrous, thing if ecumenical Christendom meeting in India of all places should fail to speak and act creatively in relation to nuclear war. I recall Walter Marshall Horton writing that in many ways the World Council's founding Assembly at Amsterdam (1948) had been notable, but many people had been "listening for something like a Christmas carol"—a saving, unmistakably new note—and it had not come. I remember also the strange thrill of singing Christmas carols on Christmas eve in 1949—during the World Pacifist Meeting—under the open sky in the cattle yard at Sevagram, near the hut in which Gandhi lived toward the end of his life. What will the New Delhi Assembly say—or sing—in Gandhi's country?

TO THE FATHER OF THE BOMB

Cesium, cobalt, strontium 90,
Fusion-fission, nerve gas, biological warfare,
Wonder potions of our latter-day magicians
That summon twilight visions out of half-remembered books:
Old woodcuts, like bad dreams, of attic laboratories
Cluttered with flasks, alembics, retorts, crucibles—
The lore of alchemy, astrologers, black magic
Of necromancers, warlocks, evocators—
Dim remembrances, old wives' tales
Of toilers at forbidden tasks,
Researchers leagued with Satan.

How we scouted, we enlightened ones,
That superstitious marriage of science and diabolism!

Yesterday we scouted, but today reflect
On science, proudly grown,
Delivered back into the womb of nescience.
For you, my scientific friend, yes, you,
Have made a tale to frighten children true.

—Dwight L. Bolinger

Agape in Tokyo

BY PAUL PEACHEY

On the plaza in front of Tokyo Station stands a robust statue with arms stretched heavenward. On its base is inscribed, in Greek and Japanese, the single word, *Agape*—love. Erected a few years ago by the metropolitan government this monument symbolizes the aspirations of this "pagan" city as it recalls the late Pacific War. Whether or not the creator of this memorial sensed the full significance of his achievement, it is hard to conceive a more eloquent symbol of Japan's postwar search for a soul.

The real tragedy of the recent blow to American prestige in Tokyo was our failure to catch what the Japanese were actually saying. Indeed, for advocates of U. S. military policy in Asia, the noisy mobs outside the Japanese Diet and the Prime Minister's residence conveniently obscured the real issues. Press Secretary Hagerty, in announcing the cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit, expressed the latter's regret "that a small organized minority, led by professional Communist agitators . . . have been able to resort to violence to prevent his goodwill visit." That is, the riots in Tokyo were regarded as simply another demonstration of the perfidy of international communism and of the need for an ever firmer American policy to resist communist expansion.

It is true, of course, that Marxists of various kinds played the leading role in engineering the Tokyo riots. One may well question whether without them the broad dissatisfaction in Japan over the Kishi administration would have become sufficiently articulate to inhibit the execution of a settled government decision. And certainly the commonweal of a nation is endangered when riots in the streets can interfere with the orderly processes of government. In any case the dynamics of the Asian revolution and of communism in East Asia gives occasion to ask just what the fate of Japan would be if she were to embark upon a course of non-alignment with the major power blocs.

Such facts as these constitute only one aspect of the picture and a foreign policy based on these alone, while yielding apparent or short-term benefits, cannot provide the basis for a viable policy in the long run. The debacle in Tokyo demonstrates the fallacy of the notion that Japan would be able to find her new personality and values within the limits defined by the logic of American military necessity. The riots in Tokyo were but a symptom of a profound spiritual crisis in Japan of which the American foreign policy is one of the principal causes.

To recognize this fact, however, requires a degree of detachment which Americans seemingly find difficult to achieve. The following exercise may help. Let us suppose that our nation were conquered by a superior power and that thereby our "Christian" and "democratic" ethos were discredited

nd judged. Let us suppose further that in he process our own disillusionment would ave been so complete as to lead us to espouse actively the new order imposed pon us by our conqueror. Let us suppose inally that before we had fully assimilated he newly imposed spirit our conqueror imself began to renege and to resurrect he gods he had initially buried for us.

This precisely is the spiritual problem of Japan today. The Japanese cannot return to the prewar scheme of things nor do they want to. But the steady purpose of American foreign policy since the Korean War to rearm Japan has destroyed many of the bridges which her people had hopefully started to build into the future. The result is at best a vacuum and at worst frustration and anger. One is forcibly reminded of the parable of Christ concerning the empty garnished room.

Background of the Crisis

The present crisis has been in the making ever since the Korean War a decade ago occasioned the sudden reversal of U.S. policy which had initially called for the perpetual disarmament of Japan. The "mutual" security treaty enacted simultaneously with the signing of the peace treaty in 1951 turned Japan into a military satellite of the United States. The democratic liberalism initially fostered by General MacArthur and the pacifism structured into the new Japanese constitution by American prompting and Japanese exuberance were now abandoned in favor of those forces in Japanese life that would consent to bring the nation fully into the orbit of the American defense system in Northeast Asia. This has led to the reconsolidation of the industrial combines and of military interests which America sought to crush by means of the late Pacific War. The American press widely reported that the extreme leftists invested $1.4 million in the recent campaign against the treaty revision and the visit of our president, the major portion presumably coming from communist sources abroad. The same press failed to note, however, that some months earlier Japan's revived industrial giants, who for several years have lobbied for a greater share in the defense production of the American bloc, contributed nearly $1 million for publicity favorable to the revision of the treaty.

Confidence in Prime Minister Kishi, whose administration deserves credit in some respects, has gradually been undermined because his sincerity in certain policy matters has come to be doubted. Paragraph 9 in the new constitution which permanently outlaws belligerency as a right of the Japanese state, is clearly an embarrassment to the policy he pursued. Early in his administration he appears to have set his sights on a revision of the constitution. Popular opposition to the notion proved strong enough, however, that the project had to be abandoned for the present. Instead the legal machinery of the state was then set in motion to reinterpret the constitution. When the Tokyo district court ruled in the famous Sunakawa case last year that the American bases in Japan are unconstitutional, the matter was quickly appealed to the Supreme Court, which obediently reversed the decision. The Court simply argued that Paragraph 9 in the constitution has no bearing on the inalienable right of the nation to self-defense.

The question of rearmament and the security treaty is bound up with many related issues such as Japanese resentment at the American nuclear tests conducted in Pacific waters in recent years and the problem of Japanese relations to mainland China. Japanese common sense recognizes the abnormality of a policy which excludes relations with China, less than two hundred miles away, with deep cultural and historical ties, for the sake of intimate ties to America, six thousand miles across the Pacific. And yet it is against the Chinese that the security treaty in the first instance is directed. The initiative of the Japanese themselves in the recent treaty revision has not been lost on the Sino-Soviet bloc. Whereas they looked with some indulgence on the original security agreement as simply an American imposition on a prostrate country, the initiative of the Kishi government in the current revision was interpreted as a willfully hostile act on the part of Japan. No sooner did it become clear that Prime Minister Kishi was determined to push through the revision at all costs than the Soviet government announced further postponement of the release of sev-

eral small Japanese islands they still hold off the coast of Hokkaido, avowedly for fear that the United States might use them as bases against the Soviet Union or her allies.

The American attempt to contain the upheavals of Asia by a circle of military bases around the Sino-Soviet bloc results in an image of international order which millions of Japanese cannot accept. Admittedly motives are mixed, and the point at which negative factors such as the resentments of defeat or excessive nationalism enter the picture can hardly be determined. What must be recognized, however, is that the feeling is authentic and in large measure justifiable. The inability of the opposition in Japan to emerge with a logical or politically viable alternative to present Japanese-American policy is more a measure of their frustration and disillusionment than of the "woolly-mindedness" with which the American press loves to needle them.

The revision of the security treaty was regarded by opponents to the Kishi regime as the most decisive step to date toward the rearmament of Japan and her involvement in an eventual nuclear war over whose occurrence she would have no direct control. It was this diffused fear rather than an intelligent comprehension of the immediate facts surrounding the treaty which provided the energy for the riots in Tokyo. That this feeling should finally have focused on President Eisenhower's visit was simply an unpredictable quirk of history. Had the original plan materialized the President would have come triumphantly from the summit conference and a visit to Moscow which would have made him a symbol of rapprochement and co-existence. Instead his itinerary merely etched the outline of a potential Northeast Asia Treaty Organization (NEATO) which the communists have long claimed is waiting in the theater wings.

American policy makers in both Washington and Tokyo have persistently ignored the deeper dimensions of the Japanese problem. It appears that they were too fully immersed in the presumed impeccability of the American position to comprehend, and too confident in its success to read the danger signs. Whatever the military dimensions of American or Japanese relations to the Sino-Soviet bloc it should now be evident for all to see that the subordination of moral and spiritual considerations to military assessments, which has guided American foreign policy for the past decade, must in the end spell disaster. This is the message not only of Tokyo, but also of Korea, Turkey and the U-2 incident. Japan is in desperate search of a soul, and the riots in Tokyo are a clear warning that her confidence in her tutor is slipping.

THE TRIAL

(For Rev. Maurice McCrackin, who is being brought to trial by the Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati in November, 1960. The charges: He refused to pay income tax for military purposes. He refused to answer the summons that followed. Lastly, he advocated that others do the same. For this he was convicted and imprisoned. In this he has "resisted the ordinances of God.")

The fact may be at fault and not the man,
Cruel as storm, sad as a fountain, and
Immovable as stone. Yet watch them take
Aim. And the arrows that accuse him fall
Upon his courtly stature. Yet he stands
And if he is a man accepts them all—
The fact, to not betray it, the mistake
To not reveal it: Let them come to see
In some great burst, some future. They are free
To be as wrong as mortal.
For this he is man.
This is God's image. See the accusing, weak
Finger point the fault, the arrows speak
Like witches, yet he stands against attack
And the points of all the arrows are bent back.

—Virgie Bernhardt

The WILL to PEACE

BY ROLAND H. BAINTON

THERE IS SOMETHING to ponder in the remark of R. H. Tawney, "War is either a crime or a crusade." It ought to be so overwhelmingly right as to be manifestly the will of God or else not right at all. One can think of wars which might fit the formula. Had there been a war for the sole purpose of saving the Jews, undertaken without reference to any national advantage for the participants, such a war, if any, might have been called holy. Had there been a war to save the Hungarians from suppression by Russia and only for that, one might have felt that the condition was fulfilled. But the Second World War was not undertaken to save the Jews, and the war for Hungary was never undertaken at all. One is thinking here in any case only of the intention, because in fact modern war could not have saved either. The Hungarians would have been incinerated in the explosion ignited by their defenders.

Since the First World War there has been a revulsion against crusading. Christians who undertake to justify modern war do so through an attenuated version of the doctrine of the just war.

One of the prime requisites of the just-war theory is that the war shall be just on one side only. The determination of this point calls for an impartial court of judicature which does not and never has existed. Without it not even the information essential for a judgment is available. The intervention of the United Nations in the Korean conflict is frequently cited as an exception. Yet a decade later dispute continues as to whether the North or the South Koreans first crossed the line. If ten years afterwards the very facts are controverted how could they at the time have been self-evident?

Most Christian adherents of the just-war theory have given up the claim to exclusive justice, and now maintain only an edge of justice. One would not be disposed to confute this claim. In any war, victory for one side may be preferable to that of the other, but whether modern war can vindicate that edge of justice is another question and one of very great moment.

The protection of small states is the least contestible form of the edge of justice, provided of course that the protector is disinterested. We do well to remind our-

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selves that protection often imperils the protected. An historian of the Second World War made this statement: "An astonishing and ironic revelation regarding the campaign in Greece has been made since the war by the Greek Commander in Chief, General Papagos. The Greeks actually asked Britain not to send help, feeling that it would be too small to be effective but enough to attract Germans like a magnet. Britain insisted in order not to lose face."

Again, any good which may be accomplished by intervention needs to be set over against the damage inflicted. In the case of Korea, here is the account of an eyewitness:

In the early hours of the following day, the airfield of Kimpo was captured, and when I came this way again, an infantry division had moved up to take over from the marines and had fanned out south and east. The brief respite had ended in death. The bright colors were gone from field and female under dust and pall. No longer the scarlet of pimentos, no longer the vivid green and crimson of silken clothes. Now the villages smoldered in the hollows and old men sat at the roadsides with the knowledge that the deluge of war, which had seemed for the moment to have passed them by, might now overwhelm them.

When one turns to the conduct of this and of every modern war, the gravest ethical difficulties are encountered, for the more war has improved at the point of technology, the more has it deteriorated at the point of moral discrimination. The code of the just war calls for the sparing of noncombatants. Today not even children are immune. At the time of Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure a speaker in the United States defended resort to military sanctions. An inquirer put to him a question, "Would you then bomb Rome and kill women and children?" "Why not?" he retorted. "Is life any more sacred because it is young?" The answer must, of course, be no. Life is not more sacred because it is young, but it is less responsible. Civil law has developed to the point of making a distinction between the juvenile and the mature offender, between the sane and the insane. War obliterates all such distinctions. Modern war certainly cannot be squared with the code of the just war.

If the crusade and the just war are rejected as Christian positions, pacifism alone remains. The writer takes this view. A distinction must here be made between varieties of pacifism. There is a Christian pacifism of renunciation and a secularist pacifism of prudence. The Christian pacifism is not a strategy but a witness. Conscientious objectors have never been numerous enough to stop a war. Between the two wars the hope appeared not unrealistic that they might attain sufficient strength to apply an effective brake. They failed and there appears to be even less likelihood of success in our own day. The churches are certainly not disposed to commit themselves as churches to war resistance. Moreover a much more extensive movement would be necessary now than formerly to impede a war because at present twenty-five men possessed of modern weapons could launch an attack and all nonparticipants would wake up to find themselves either dead or in it. As for the impact of martyrdom on public opinion, one never knows. The scaffold may sway the future, but it may also be buried in oblivion.

The New Pacifism of Prudence

At the same time there is the possibility of a new variety of pacifism which may attain large proportions, and that is a pacifism of prudence, based on the desire for survival. Such a movement may start not from Christians addicted to the Sermon on the Mount but from generals averse to futility. The two types of pacifism would largely coalesce as to their program. Their day is not yet, however, and in the meantime we have the questions, shall small groups of Christians espouse a pacifist view, and by so doing would they render themselves irrevelant?

At the present juncture there is more need for peace than there is for pacifism. If peace is preserved it will be through the efforts not of pacifists, but of peace-minded nonpacifists, who do not renounce war absolutely, but who oppose war in our time on grounds of the humanitarian and the pragmatic. The question then comes to be, what are the lineaments of a peace program on which those with differing presuppositions can make common cause? This will depend of course upon the ethic espoused by the national state and by the world community. The highest ethic which one can expect for the state is the ethic of natural law. For the church one has a right to assume the ethic of the gospel, however interpreted. The two in large measure will coincide, but they may also clash; natural law recognizes the principle that force may be repelled by force, whereas the gospel, if not entirely excluding this principle, certainly inculcates a spirit of concession and even of renunciation.

The Will to Peace

The desire for peace is universal; less so, the will to peace. The line between desire and will is not the line between non-Christians and Christians. The nontheists and the theists, the secularists and the Christians, can once more make common cause. The wisdom of the Greeks is again uttered in our day by a number of voices. Lewis Mumford touches the horror of it all in his article with the title "Kindling for Global Gehenna." Norman Cousins stresses the pity of it all in his book *Who Speaks for Man?* Bertrand Russell points to the folly of it all when he inquires whether the sublimity of feeling which makes the species worth preserving is all

> "to end in trivial horror because so few are able to think of Man rather than of this or that group of men? Is our race so destitute of wisdom, so incapable of impartial love, so blind even to the simplest dictates of self-preservation, that the last proof of its silly cleverness is to be the extermination of all life on our planet?—for it will be not only men who will perish, but also the animals and plants, whom no one can accuse of Communism or anti-Communism."

In the voicing of such pleas, are Christians to be behind humanists? The churches as churches have not come out with unequivocal repudiations of modern war because their constituencies are divided and they wish to leave the individual conscience free. In that case there is all the more reason why individuals should declare their convictions.

Throughout the centuries the Christian ethic has always impressed outsiders as pacific to the point of weakness. Celsus in the second century brought the reproach that if all men were as the Christians, the empire would be overrun by lawless barbarians. Julian the Apostate in the fourth century mockingly asked the men of Alexandria whether their city owed its greatness to the precepts of the Galilean and not rather to the prowess of its founder Alexander the Great. In the Renaissance Machiavelli attributed the decadence of his time to the "feebleness of our religion." In the nineteenth century Friedrich Nietzsche thought that the sign by which Christianity conquered should be labeled "decadence." In our own time Alfred Loisy, having repudiated Christianity, interpreted its ethic in Tolystoyan terms. Rabbi Klausner believed that the ethic of Jesus would disintegrate the state.

These examples are not cited to contend that all of the above judgments are correct, and one may legitimately query whether unbelievers are at any point the best exegetes. Yet perchance they may be, because those who reject an exacting ethic may better keep it intact than those who, having accepted it, are then under the temptation to pare it down to the level of the attainable. Not vengeance, not retaliation, but compassion and reconciliation are the Christian notes.

The Christian must seek to exemplify the self-effacement of the Saviour, and he must remember that the concern of the gospel is for individual persons. There is not a word of advice in the New Testament about mass communication. When Paul wrote to the Romans he was not thinking of the Roman Empire, but of the local congregation at Rome, and his letter concludes with nearly a chapter of greetings to persons named—Apelles, Herodion, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Asyncritus, Phlegon, Julia, Nereus, and the rest. One of the ingredients in the degrada-

tion of modern war is that it has become so completely depersonalized that justice cannot be administered on a basis of individual responsibility, nor can punishment be made to fit the crime. Perhaps even worse, the revulsion against war is diminished because of the failure to realize that people are involved. We talk about power relations as if China, Korea, Iran, and Kenya were the pieces in a cardboard puzzle, and not nations of human beings. The participants in war may hate each other less because they do not see one another, but by the same token, they are less struck by the inhumanity of what they are doing when they know the enemy only as a target.

At the close of the Second World War two veterans met in the home of an American professor; one was a German, the other an American. Both were theology students. The German had been on a submarine, the American in an airplane. They compared notes. The German related that on a given day in a given month in a particular year he had been in a submarine off a Baltic port, dodging the bombs from an American plane. The American said that on the same day of the same month and the same year off that same Baltic port he had been in a plane dropping bombs in an effort to bag a German submarine. For the first time each of them felt the monstrous incongruity on the part of two men training to be ministers of Jesus Christ.

A Christian Visits the Mau Mau

Let us suppose that our nation should disarm unilaterally. What would happen? We do not know. Such an unparalleled renunciation might have an amazing effect. Weakness as such has no power; the Jews were helpless, and their helplessness did not soften Hitler. If a nation possessed of strength should voluntarily renounce its advantage, however, the enemy might respond with alacrity and relief. No proof of this can be offered because no nation has ever tried, but there are cases on a more personal level which point to hope. Hans deBoer, a German pacifist, went to Kenya, resolved to talk to the leaders of the Mau Mau. Everyone told him that if he went into the Mau Mau country, he would never come back with his head on. He consulted an American Quaker who had been in the land for some twenty years. The advice was, "Young man, I wouldn't do it if I were you. One should not tempt God."

DeBoer nevertheless went and entirely unarmed. After some two hours of walking, as he was approaching the first settlement, two natives in remnants of European dress accosted him in English, asking "Are you Mr. DeBoer?" The Quaker friend who had counseled him not to go had in fact contacted the Mau Mau. DeBoer was able to have a conference with one of the leaders to whom he deplored alike the violence of the Mau Mau and of the whites, urging instead negotiation. The Negro replied that if the whites would come unarmed to talk, no blood would flow. They desired only freedom and the right to own their own land, and they were not lusting to murder all of the whites.

This incident is significant for two reasons; first, because the Quakers throughout the whole conflict had been able to keep open the lines of trustful communication, and second, that a man voluntarily walking unarmed into the nest of the Mau

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PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship
PEACE MEMORATIVE EDITION
NOV. 1, 1960
VOL. 26, NO. 21

FELLOWSHIP APPEALS FOR NEW POLICY ON CUBA

Almost at the moment that the Administration was announcing stringent new economic sanctions against the Castro government of Cuba, the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was approving release of a statement appealing for a more generous and sympathetic attitude toward Cuba and the rescinding of all sanctions. The FOR statement, adopted at the October 18 Executive Committee meeting, acknowledged the organization's concern for the "intemperate behavior" of Fidel Castro and the post-revolution violence and suppression of dissent in the Caribbean country, but recalled that the history of American-Cuban relationships provides some justification for the present anti-American feeling.

The Fellowship charged the American government and press with a "marked lack of sympathetic understanding of the difficulties and accomplishments of the present Cuban government," and urged the government to accept with sympathy and support the determination of Cuba to effect needed economic reforms.

Specific changes in policy urged by the FOR were (1) the immediate rescinding of all economic sanctions against Cuba; (2) the offer of long-term low-interest loans to Cuba for use in compensating owners of expropriated American properties; (3) withdrawal from the Guantanamo Naval Base; (4) acknowledgement that the United States has no right to impose its will on Cuba in the matter of political, economic or military ties with the Soviet bloc even though such adherence might pose a "serious threat to world peace."

"We believe that we will have more assurance of friendly relations with Cuba through the adoption of a friendly and sympathetic policy than by the use of threats and the imposition of penalties," the statement asserts. Copies of the full statement are available on request from the FOR national office, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

"Economic Colonialism"

"...fully 40 percent of the nation's sugar production, with an annual value of more than $600 million, was firmly in the hands of U.S. corporations in 1958. (In the past, the percentage had risen as high as 70.) An additional 10 to 20 percent was controlled by Canadian, Spanish and other foreign interests. Thus less than half of a product accounting for nearly two-thirds of Cuba's national income, and fully 80 percent of her export, was actually controlled by Cubans.

The same condition applied with respect to the great cattle ranches, to the nation's mineral wealth (90 percent in American hands), to its oil (owned entirely by British and American corporations), to its public utilities (80 percent American-owned).

The importance of such facts cannot be exaggerated. They are the essence of economic colonialism..." --Robert Taber, in The Nation, *Jan. 23, 1960*

Background of the statement is the conviction on the part of many observers that the American press has generally done an extremely poor job of reporting and interpreting developments in and about Cuba. Most responsible reporters and authorities on Latin America

(Continued on next page)

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Fellowship Appeals *(cont'd)*

who have visited Cuba for first-hand study have an entirely different view than is usually found in the daily press and mass-circulation magazines. A dramatic example of this is a new book by C. Wright Mills, author of "The Causes of World War III," to be published this month by McGraw-Hill (hardcover) and Ballantine Books (paperback). An excerpt will also appear in the November issue of *Harper's* magazine. Other important reports have appeared in *The New Republic* (Sept. 12, 1960), *The Progressive* (May, 1960), *The Nation* (January 23, 1960), and various issues of *I.F. Stone's Weekly* and *Charles Wells's Between the Lines.*

FOR Advertises in *N.Y. Times*

A sequence of half-page advertisements in the Sunday *New York Times* (circ. 1,416,000) began last month to bring the message of the FOR to many thousands of people who had not heard it before. The messages were prompted by the widespread feeling of disillusionment growing out of the September-October meetings of the UN General Assembly and the savage exchanges between delegates from different countries that marked them.

The Fellowship ads urged a change of direction in American policy. The first, published October 9, was headed "Repay No One Evil for Evil." The second, captioned "Rejoice with Those Who Rejoice" appeared October 23. At least one, and possibly two more will be scheduled for November. Reprints of all are available for members and friends who wish to place them in their own newspapers or distribute or post them otherwise.

FOR Still Seeks Names of Community "Opinion Makers"

Many readers responded to the Fellowship's earlier request for the names of TV forum directors, newspaper editors and columnists, and other persons who help form opinions on the community level. The purpose of the request is a current project involving the sending of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's new pamphlet, *Common Sense in Defense,* to such persons. Signers of a covering letter accompanying the mailing include David Riesman, C. Wright Mills, William Davidon, Jerome Frank, Erich Fromm and Linus Pauling.

Unfortunately, many readers sent in the names of national figures rather than those in their own communities, resulting in many duplications. Please send us the names of the people actually in your community who should get this important booklet.

M. L. King Jailed in Atlanta Sit-Ins; Sit-Inners Arrested in Sumter

FOR member Martin Luther King Jr. and 36 other sit-in demonstrators refused to post bond and went to jail on Oct. 19, following their arrest for participation in a lunch counter discrimination protest at two Atlanta, Ga., department stores. King, who said he would "stay in jail a year or ten years" if necessary, asserted that he and 75 other sit-inners arrested "did nothing wrong" but pointed to the demonstration as a a means of bringing the whole issue of desegregation into the "conscience of Atlanta."

Meanwhile, eleven sit-in demonstrators were arrested in Sumter, S. C., on Oct. 13 for protesting lunch counter discrimination at two local stores. The group, members of a Congress of Racial Equality team, were charged with "breach of the peace" but were subsequently freed on $100 bail.

NEWS from the peace front

Dr. Paul G. Macy, education director of the World Council of Churches and one-time FOR Midwest regional secretary, died last month at the age of 62. Dr. Macy, who was also Professor of Ecumenics at the Bethany Biblical Seminary in Chicago, Ill., was a faithful and earnest worker in the cause of peace. His teaching and influence will be greatly missed.

Gilbert Bowles, another long-time and faithful FOR member died in Honolulu in September. He was 90 years old. "His life was a great contribution to the cause of peace," writes a fellow FOR member, "and his influence remains with us."

* * *

Four religious pacifists are among the major party nominees for congress at the Nov. 8 election. They are Rep. Byron L. Johnson (D.-Colo.), Hayes Beall of Lombard, Ill., Tyler Thompson of Evanston, Ill., all of whom are FOR members, and William H. Meyer (D.-Vt.). Also, Mrs. Rudd Brown, an active member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is running against incumbent Rep. Edgar L. Hiestand in Calif.

A Voters Write-In Committee for Disarmament and Integration was organized in the Los Angeles, Calif., area in September by a local group of over a hundred independent voters. The Committee, which has nominated Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph as write-in candidates, was established "to coordinate and channel the large unorganized protest vote of liberals and independents" who feel that they have no means to express their opinions on disarmament and integration in the coming presidential election.

Also, an independent committee of socialists are favoring Socialist Labor Party candidates Eric Hass and Georgia Cozzini. The latter are expected to be on 18 state ballots.

* * *

The University of Maryland agreed last month to permit students "conscientiously opposed to military training" to take courses other than those required in its compulsory ROTC program, thus ending a long-standing dispute. Two students who registered this fall have already been exempted from ROTC on conscientious grounds and have agreed to take "an equivalent amount of citizenship training."

* * *

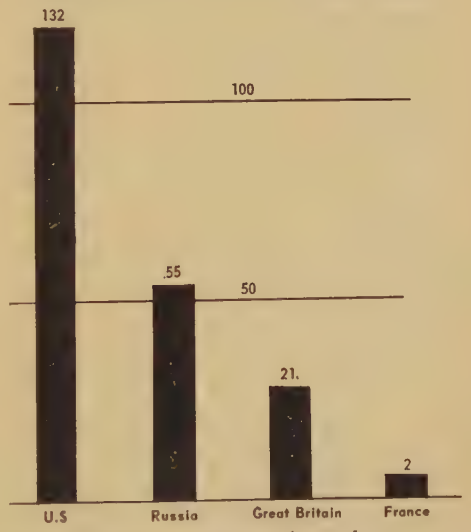
An idea of a World Academy for Peace which would include "top moral and spiritual leaders from every land, but no heads of state" was outlined by Rev. Israel Goldstein speaking in New York City last month. Such a group, Goldstein observed, would join in "an ongoing collective effort" of safeguarding peace and minimizing the threat of nuclear war.

* * *

Kneel-ins were endorsed last month as a demonstration of Negro "belief in the unity of the human family, and, in

(Continued on next page)

NUCLEAR TEST SCOREBOARD



Graph shows number of nuclear tests made by world powers. U.S. is 54 tests ahead of the rest of the world and has had more than twice as many tests as the next one. NATOpolitans together have done three times as much blasting as USSR. Yet U.S. alone seeks to end temporary cessation of tests.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

the case of Christians, of the unity of all believers in Jesus Christ," by the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America meeting in Valparaiso, Ind. The board also called upon all Christians to join in a confession of "guilt in the church's corporate sin expressed in exclusiveness, racial pride, and silence in the face of injustice..." but commended white congregations which have accepted "freely and without reservation" people of other racial or ethnic identity into their fellowship.

LIT-NOTES

Winner of the 1960 Jane Addams Children's Book Award is *Champions of Peace* by Edith Patterson Meyer, the story of the Nobel Peace Prizewinners, suitable for Junior Highs. Price: $3.50. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

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On hand: *The Hiroshima Panels,* a collection of 11 panel reproductions with explanatory text in English and Japanese by Iri and Toshiko Maruki portraying the stark tragedy of the Hiroshima A-bomb explosion. Drawn in ink with occasional use of color, the pictures are a unique blending of the Japanese and Western traditions. The last panel was an outstanding feature of the 1959 Tokyo International Exhibition, "a striking contrast to the prevailing abstract and expressionist styles." Price: $2.50. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Action Against Apartheid, a 16-page pamphlet, discussing ways in which Americans can work against racial discrimination in South Africa, is currently available from the American Committee on Africa. Price: 25¢ each. Write: ACOA 801 Second Ave., N. Y.

* * *

Copies of *Challenge to Complacency* a detailed report of the Washington Young Friends 1960 draft-alternatives letter sent to high school students, are now available. Price: 25¢ each. Order from: WYF, 211 Florida Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Nov. 5. Minnesota FOR Conference. Speaker: John M. Swomley Jr. Write: Arthur Sternberg, 1563 Fairmount, St. Paul 5, Minn.

Nov. 18. New York FOR annual meeting. Speakers: Michael Scott and James M. Lawson Jr. For information call A. J. Muste at MO 2-9870.

Nov. 18. AFSC docudrama "Which Way the Wind" at the Hartshorn School, White Oak Ridge Rd., Short Hills, N.J., at 8:15 p.m.

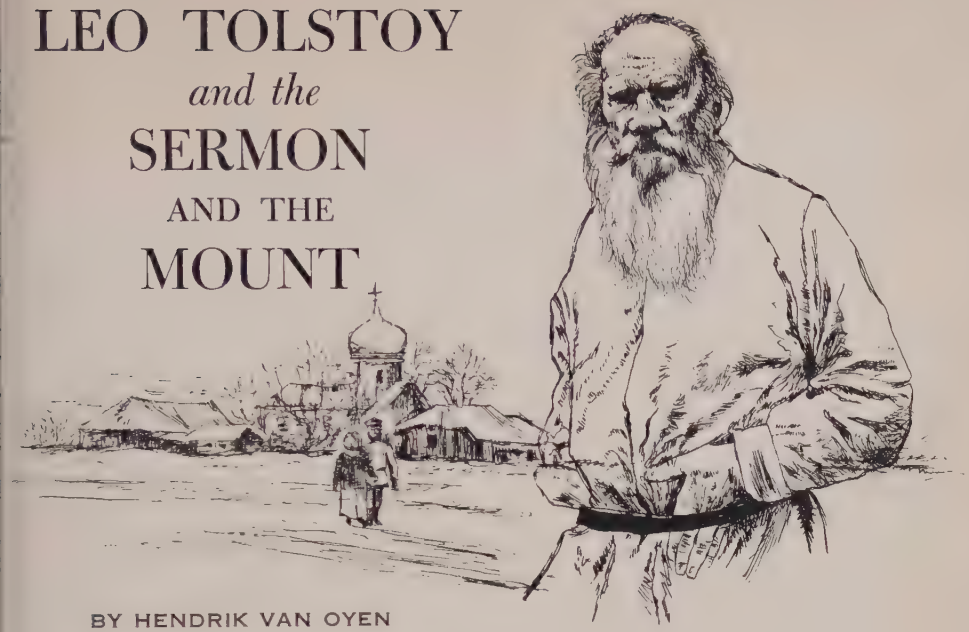
Nov. 18-20. AFSC weekend institute at the Hudson Guild Farm, Netcong, N.J. Speakers: David Dellinger, Robert Gilmore, James M. Lawson Jr., A.J. Muste and others. Write: 237 Third Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

The First Line of Unarmed Defense

"It should be made quite clear that nonviolent resistance is only the second line of defense for an unarmed society. The first line of defense must be a positive and creative policy towards international affairs that includes: (a) diversion of military expenditure to aid refugees and under-developed countries; (b) contracting out of military alliances and working with non-committed countries such as India; (c) cessation of espionage; (d) active participation in UNESCO activities; (e) relief service units for rescue and rehabilitation anywhere in the world; (f) new Ministries of Peace promoting cultural, educational and goodwill visits abroad."

--Alan Litherland in Labor Peace Bulletin *(London), October 1960*

LEO TOLSTOY *and the* SERMON AND THE MOUNT



BY HENDRIK VAN OYEN

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES have long closed their eyes to Tolstoy's religious and ethical significance. Honored for the dramatic power of his literature, he has been found too embarrassing for the churches in his critique of religion and his interpretation of Christian discipleship. He had to be shrugged off as fanatic, exaggerated, unwholesome. Characteristic of Western Christianity's attitude toward Tolstoy is the fact that the Basel *Universitätsbibliothek*, which possesses over one hundred of his writings, has none at all of his religious works.

The Struggle for Faith and Love

Let us attempt to approach Tolstoy as a Christian thinker. He has been accused of anarchy, pantheism, evolutionism and existentialism; any epithet has been good enough for those who attempt to silence him by pigeonholing him. Here our effort shall rather be to understand him as he would want to be understood; as a man wrestling with Christian truth, a man who from his youth suffered inwardly from the awfulness of war, capital punishment, broken marriages, suffering as well under the total failure of the Christian Church to bring genuine renewal in the face of such immeasurable need. Already in his early masterful story, "The Cossacks," we can feel his soul's revolt against the crime of war; he sensed the monstrous contradiction between the beauty and majesty of the divine creation and its desecration through man's broadcast sowing of hate, sorrow and death.

Thus early he confronted life, seeking mercilessly to comprehend it as it really is. He recognized as its essence, as the flame within human existence, the longing for love, peace and joy, yet understanding how the life of society is dominated by hate and violence, self-love and cruelty. In his major works of fiction he was able to portray with a power seldom seen in world literature the truth about life as he had unveiled it, yet increasingly his own mind turned to asking how this great need could be met—where the secret lay which could free men from the embrace of hatred and violence. We can watch him seeking a "truth" which will be more than an unveiling of brutal reality, truth as a directive for the healing of this reality. From diagnosis he wants to proceed to therapy.

But this is what the Church was not providing. Instead of incarnating love she was laboring to erect a system of ideas about the Trinity, the Natures of Christ, vicarious suffering and the resurrection;

meanwhile the central issue of following Christ was fatally abandoned through accommodation to the world. Tolstoy could only interpret this as a misunderstanding of the biblical message, and he therefore determined—much to his wife's displeasure—to study the biblical languages in order to get at the original texts. With the help of a rabbi he plunged himself into the study of the words of Jesus, and during the second half of his life unfolded in numerous writings an interpretation of the New Testament which anticipated many of the results of contemporary exegesis.

The Old and the New Law

As a result of his biblical studies Tolstoy steadily grew away from the dogmas of the Orthodox Church (cf. his two-volume *Critique of Dogmatic Theology*). He saw the Church as building mighty metaphysical structures around matters which must be taken on faith, while Jesus' commands are left untouched. While such dogma is irreconcilable with reason, so that "faith" must do violence to reason, Tolstoy discovered that the same does not hold true of Christ's teachings. He was powerfully struck by the rational clarity and consistency of these instructions, and could say with the writer of the First Letter of John, "His commandments are not burdensome." How could Tolstoy come to such a conclusion, when the rest of Christianity in all ages has proven the inapplicability of Jesus' commands?

Tolstoy understood the word, "resist not the evil one," to be the center of Jesus' message. Jesus' own life was guided to the end by this standard. Thereby a new, divine Law has been brought into being, in direct opposition to the old law of judgment and penalty. Tolstoy finds himself driven to separate sharply the two Laws: that of the world, issuing in coercion, penalty, and killing, and the eternal Law

A LETTER FROM BORIS PASTERNAK

In June 1959, the editors of FELLOWSHIP wrote to Boris Pasternak, author of **Doctor Zhivago** and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, inviting him to write an article on Tolstoy for this issue. As a boy, Pasternak attended Tolstoy's funeral. His father, Leonid Pasternak, was the illustrator of some of Tolstoy's later books. It is not surprising therefore that the philosophy underlying **Doctor Zhivago** is strongly tinged with Tolstoyan ideas.

Serious illness, culminating in death, intervened to prevent Pasternak from writing the half-promised paragraphs. We therefore feel justified in publishing the following extracts from his only letter to us, fragmentary as it is, as a provocative glimpse of what might have been, and to indicate the spiritual kinship a great poet and courageous Christian felt toward our magazine.

(Peredelkino, USSR)
August 19, 1959

Dear Mr. Miller,

If I should have time, I will try to write you some few sentences on Tolstoy's fine art in my personal letter to you, that you can afterwards cite amidst your own utterances on the subject. Real articles for foreign press, that would not be mere reimpressions of Soviet publications, are not tolerated of us, and, since a similar possibility of being heard and read is temporarily shut for me (because of the simplicity of my untendentious sayings), the broader opportunity of being useful to you drops also off.

What should I like to write of? About the incommensurability of two general kinds of T's creation. "War and Peace" is an ontology of Russia. In "Khadji Murath" Caucasus is a little close universe for itself. But "Anna Karenina" is a carefully accomplished research on a corner of Russian society of a certain definite time. The first is marvelous and superhuman. The second without wonders and conforming to rules.

I thank you for your kind words and feelings.

Truly yours,
B. Pasternak

which Jesus said He had come to fulfill. Jesus saw that Mosaic and Roman law, seeking to oppose evil with violence, only multiply the evil. The only way to stem the flood and vanquish the evil is to return good for evil, indiscriminately.

For millennia mankind had vainly tried to fend off evil with evil, but the cancer had only grown worse. Jesus says, "Do as I say and do, and you shall know whether it is the truth"; but we do not dare to obey, fearing for our hallowed institutions —parliaments, courts, prisons, and the rest. Fearing the disintegration of society, men have not dared to make a new start. They cling fast to property, to force, to the domination of one by the other. Tolstoy senses in the teachings of Christ, God's Law, rooted in and given through Creation; this Law is best served by the simple life of the peasant. Here a man deals with his peers, with no caste prejudices and no drawing of lines to destroy community. Manual labor is the rule and men are equal. The higher men come, the greater their ease, the narrower becomes the cage in which they are imprisoned, cut off from those of lower estate, using other men as slaves and thereby denying the dignity of work.

Discipleship Is Obedient Action

Thus Tolstoy is convinced that man must return to this simple way of life as to a divine law. More profoundly and more religiously than Rousseau he sounds the cry, "back to nature." This is the Eternal Law which he finds expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. Here we are called to a simple and unpretentious obedience, not returning evil for evil but loving one another and turning our minds to how to live together in peace. Thus we can organize a "natural" order of life, as Christ willed and lived creaturely life. Metaphysical speculation is pointless loafing. As early as 1883 in a letter to his friend Chertkov he played obedient action and "believing" speculation over against one another. While discussing the nature of the Resurrection, he says, "for a Disciple of Christ there is so much that is immediate, so much that cannot be put off, . . . things of such enormous importance, that he has no time to spend on such questions. A good workman will not be curious about every detail of his employer's life, while the lazy man will be hanging around in the kitchen trying to find out how many children the boss has, what he eats and how he dresses. The loafer in the kitchen won't find out all the facts anyway, and meanwhile the work doesn't get done. All that matters is to recognize Him as Lord and to know what He desires of us; what He is 'in Himself,' and how He lives, I shall never know, for I am not His peer. I am the serf, not the Lord." Thus Tolstoy sees concrete obedience as the only way to open oneself to the mystery of reality; this not in the manner of existentialism, viewing life as a particular mode of being in which we have somehow got involved, but rather as a divinely imposed task, a commandment revealed in full transparency in Christ.

Five commands are the foundation of the Sermon on the Mount:

—Thou shalt not be angry with thy brother;
—Thou shalt not be separated from thy wife;
—Thou shalt not swear an oath;
—Thou shalt not resist evil;
—Thou shalt love all men, even those who are not thy compatriots.

This is not the place to evaluate in detail the interpretation of these commands. In any case the observation is justified, that the basic linguistic analysis is often accurate; as uncomfortable as it may be for the Church, Tolstoy's understanding has caught the intention of Jesus. Here are two examples:

1) The study of rabbinic literature, especially the Mishna, indicates that cases such as those mentioned in Matt. 5:38ff were dealt with as problems of civil law, as offenses justifying legal recourse. Bornhäuser's exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (1927) comes also to this conclusion, and then remarks strangely that a man like Count Tolstoy, "on the basis of an exposition of 'resist not evil' unclouded by any scholarly understanding, took up arms against war in the name of Jesus." The remark is grotesque in that Tolstoy in *What I Believe* had shown in detail, using Jewish tradition, how directly the cases cited by Jesus had to do with current judicial procedure—just what Bornhäuser fifty years later thought he was

the first to discover. Tolstoy's point is that Jesus rejected precisely this constant strife in the courts—and we see in 1 Cor. 6:1-11 how the early Church as well avoided it. Tolstoy paraphrases Matt. 5:39a: "You, my disciples, shall renounce possible compensation for damages through judicial process against anyone, even against an enemy; this renunciation shall not only apply to your friends, as the Scribes teach." It is not the case that Tolstoy rejected war uniquely on the ground of this text. The passage, anchored as it is in private civil law, serves as a key to open access to the entire message of Christ. He enters the lists against war in the name of this full-orbed message, not for the sake of a bare proof text. He is convinced that murder, arson and destruction are simply, radically irreconcilable with the spirit in which the Gospel rejects personal appeal to force.

2) Thorough linguistic study convinced Tolstoy that Jesus' "Judge not" (Matt. 7:1) means not "do not calumny," but "do not take to court." The Greek word speaks not of a moral, but of a judicial accusation. Hence this is a second rejection of judicial process within the Sermon on the Mount —and here again Tolstoy is doubtless right on scholarly grounds. All along the line Tolstoy attempts to show that all violence, in the defense of one's property (the courts), in punishment or in war, is rejected by Jesus. He sees how important and how pointless it is to raise an armed police force to combat the underworld, how stupid to match national armament with national armament, in a race in which humanity is sacrificed. Yet Tolstoy is fully aware of the answer to his call for nonresistance; "we shall have chaos; it will be impossible for society to survive." To this he responds, "Christ asks this of us, and we find His command noble and good. Therefore let us follow it. Why do we not do what we recognize to be noble and true? Because we fear the loss of our possessions. We love this world as it is, with its wars and its misery, and are unwilling to run the risk. We are willing to accept lovelessness and violence toward others as the price of our own comfort. Christ saw this; by showing us true life, the Light, He commands us to discard the shadow. If we live for ease, we live for ourselves; but living for oneself is nonsense, with death around the corner, ready to destroy all our self-concern in an instant. What then will survive? Only the victory of God's will in man, the victory of Christ."

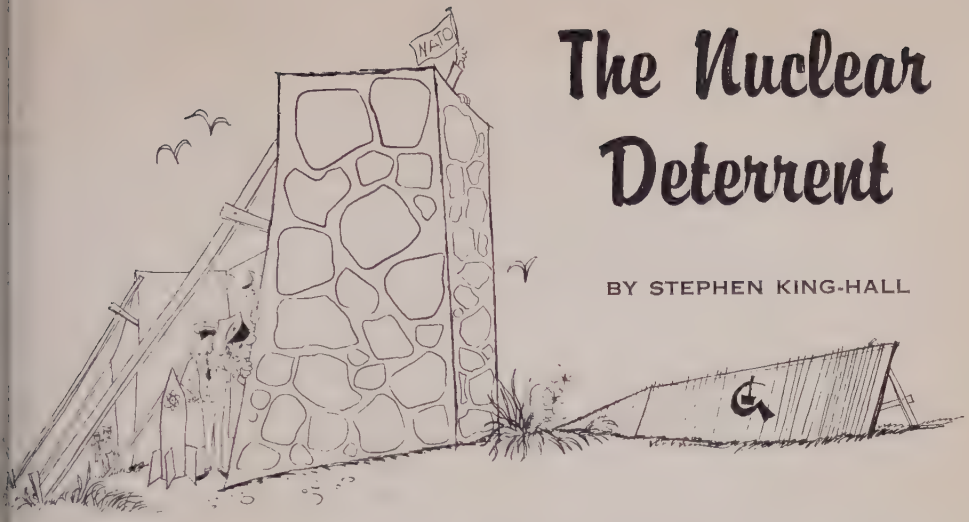
Discipleship a Light Burden

We have sketched Tolstoy's attempt to penetrate the human predicament and then to fulfill the divine commands within that reality. It is a mockery, a refusal to relate to reality, to say at the same time that original sin makes all this impossible and then that in Christ suffering, sin and death are overcome. The Resurrection is not an affair of the hereafter; it is present and effective in obedience to Christ. If we use our minds, if we love what is natural and true, then discipleship will be found easy. Tolstoy demonstrates impressively that the sacrifices involved in following Christ are far less than the cost of following the World. Living according to the course of this world is an infinitely worse "martyrdom" than the Christian life; in eighteen centuries there were perhaps 380,000 martyrs for the Christian faith; in the nineteenth century alone thirty millions were killed in war (and what would we have to say of the twentieth?). We *imagine* that these sacrifices are inevitable, like the countless other kinds of sacrifice which secular life daily claims from us. In the service of Christ these are not demanded, and what is asked of us instead is easy to bear.

Tolstoy cannot be ranked as an ideological precursor of Communism (though he has been claimed as such). He rejected any theoretical schematization of the revolution as a hard and loveless intellectualism. He was convinced that theoretical socialism would engender a world of terror. What he asked for was the individual decision of faith and obedience. If, illuminated by reason, men would let Love do its work, the natural life of community would regain the lost ground, love's flame would thaw men's hearts.

For our days, as violence and the threat of violence dominate as never before, the great and noble figure of Tolstoy bears for us a warning of prophetic urgency.

—Translated from the German by John Howard Yoder.



The Nuclear Deterrent

BY STEPHEN KING-HALL

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL is a leading authority on military matters in Britain, and his announcement a few years ago of his conclusion that military defense of Britain in the thermonuclear age was impossible, created a considerable stir in that country. In *Common Sense in Defense,* Commander King-Hall's new pamphlet from which the following article is excerpted, the author comments on the presence among the opponents of nuclear armaments of both persons like himself, who accept as legitimate the use of force by sovereign nations, and "moral pacifists." Of the latter he declares that "sometimes I wish I had the moral courage to take this position, because I believe it to be the view that Jesus Christ would have taken." In his pamphlet, Commander King-Hall discusses the goal of defense, the role of violence in defense, the concept and credibility of the nuclear deterrent, and the "correct" nonviolent solution. This article deals with the credibility of the deterrent theory. —The Editors.

A DETERRENT, to be effective, must be credible. The enemy must believe without reservation that you have: (a) the power to annihilate him, and (b) the will to do so in any circumstance which *you* think threatens what you are trying to defend.

There has always been an element of deterrent in armed force. Hence the slogan "Arm for Peace" and the invariable explanation that nations maintain armed forces for *defensive purposes,* i.e. in order first to deter an enemy from attacking them and, second, to beat him if he is not deterred.

Nuclear weapons have created the extraordinary and unprecedented situation in which the sole purpose of the forces is deterrence, and if this fails all is lost. In the pre-nuclear age the argument was: "We hope our armed forces will deter the enemy, but if they do not and he misjudges the balance of power we will use these armed forces to inflict such violence upon him that he will see he misjudged the situation."

The whole idea of the "doctrine of balance of power" was that there should be a mutual balance of deterrence. History tells us that over and over again one side came to the conclusion that the balance was illusory and then there was war. Twice in my lifetime the British and their allies have proved to the Germans that both in 1914 and 1939 it seemed to the Germans that the facts were otherwise. It is often said that it was "the balance of power" which preserved world peace during the nineteenth century. I think it is more accurate to give the credit, or most of it, to the influence of the overwhelmingly strong British Navy which supported the Pax

Brittanica. In many respects it was the nearest approach to a world government we have yet seen. When it seemed, as British power declined and German strength increased, that a balance of power had been reached, war became imminent.

The Paradox of Secrecy

In considering the doctrine of a peace preserved by a balance of terror we must note that, since our armed forces are now chiefly devoted to deterrence, this development has had a little-realized effect on the role of secrecy in military and defense matters.

In my twenty years of service life I was brought up to believe that if one had a new weapon it was important to keep it secret until it was used against the enemy (*e.g.*, radar in 1939). Nuclear energy has turned that idea upside down. If we want our deterrent to have its full effect we must make sure our enemy knows exactly how awful we can be.

But we must not only make sure that the potential enemy knows we have the ability and the nuclear stuff needed to obliterate him. The credibility of the deterrent depends upon our capacity to convince him that in certain circumstances we shall press the button.

Now we get into deep water.

Is there a button? Of course there isn't *one* button, we can thankfully report; although we have been told there are two latchkeys, one held by an American, the other by a British officer, for those obsolete Thor missiles on the East Coast of Britain. If there isn't a button, who decides when and if nuclear weapons are to be used? The President of the United States? The British Prime Minister? The Commander-in-Chief of NATO? Each on his own, or in consultation? Or—alarming thought—a selection of more junior officers? Or—as it is obvious that nothing can be decided in a four-minute warning period—are we to assume that the idea is that *after* the United Kingdom has been drenched and destroyed, any officers still finding themselves alive and in control of a missile or aircraft would launch a retaliatory strike? Mr. Lester Pearson, former Foreign Affairs Minister of Canada, is on record as saying that even to hold a conference among the Western powers to try to decide where the button should be and who should press it in what circumstances would break up the NATO alliance. Of course it would.

Our dilemma is that, while on the one hand it is necessary to have a button and give one man the awful power to decide when to press it and destroy humanity if the deterrent is to be fully credible, on the other hand it is fantastic to suppose that the democratic sovereign states would or should agree to such an idea.

The question of the political control of the use of nuclear weapons appears to me to be as insoluble as the square root of minus one. It was in a hopeless attempt to get round this difficulty that up to 1960 both political parties in Britain supported the idea of an independent British deterrent. We would have our own deterrent and button made in Britain. This would enable us to "influence" the U.S.A.; it would insure, in the words of Aneurin Bevan, that our Foreign Secretary did not go "naked into the Conference room." This policy is now in ruins with the collapse of the Blue Streak missile program. We are stupidly continuing to add to our stockpile of H-bombs without any credible means of efficiently delivering them overseas!

So there is bound to be an element of doubt in the deterrent. We do not know ourselves when (if ever) and in what circumstances the West would launch a nuclear attack, and if we do not know we cannot give precise information to our potential enemy and he has to guess in what circumstances we might use nuclear weapons. If he guesses wrong all is lost.

Consider a practical possibility. Suppose that the perennial Berlin problem becomes critical and an air blockade is established and looks as if it cannot be beaten by an airlift (there are also many other ways in which pressure short of military occupation could be exerted on our precarious position in West Berlin). Do we present the Soviet Union with an ultimatum with a choice between accepting our terms or a full-scale nuclear war? If we said something like this, would we mean what we said or would we be bluffing in a gigantic game of poker? Would the Russians or East

ermans think we were bluffing? If we were ot bluffing, is it to be supposed that all fteen NATO countries would agree to is and might not the Russians argue ith much plausibility that it was most nlikely they would—and so forth?

My own guess, feeling, instinct, call it hat you like, is that the free world will ever be the first to launch a large-scale uclear attack and has a deep sense of uilt (it certainly exists in the U.S.A.) ecause in 1945 we were the first to use uclear energy for military purposes and stablish an ominous landmark in history.

In general, democracies cannot fight reventive wars. This is not so difficult or totalitarian states, although I do not elieve that the Russians want a nuclear war any more than we do.

It is clear that the policy of the Great Deterrent is not at all the simple Yes or No affair many people seem to think it is but, when related to specific instances, is much more incredible than credible. If it is not credible it is not a deterrent, always assuming, as the Western world does (and so I presume do the Russians), that a nuclear deterrent is essential to safety.

The Novelty of Our Defense Problem

The use of military energy for the production of that violence which is the purpose of military operations has resulted in a situation confronting us with a defense problem which is not relatively new, but absolutely so.

With the evolution of weapons of war the technical character of defense problems, particularly in the tactical sphere, has caused a constant change to take place in the details of our defense arrangements.

Because it was always difficult to foresee what would be the effect of the weapon development continuously taking place between wars, the defense people were often accused of planning for "the next war" in terms of what was suitable for "the last war." It was risky to be too speculative.

No one can accuse them of doing that today, since it is obvious that the advent of the nuclear weapon has created such a brand-new situation that no logical connection can be established between the last war with non-nuclear weapons and any future war with nuclear weapons.

There are no "lessons to be learned" from 1939-45—except from Hiroshima—of much use for "the next war." The dilemma of those who believe in our present theory of defense is of a novel character. They feel they have to spend millions developing weapons which they know will be obsolete as soon as they become operational!

But because—perhaps subconsciously—so many of us still think that the word *war* comprises nuclear and non-nuclear war it is essential *to break through the thought barrier in this respect and force ourselves to see the truth. This is that a nuclear war, or the idea of a defense based on the violence of nuclear energy, would be and is something basically and absolutely different from any war or preparation for war which has ever been known in human history.*

If one can grasp this truth, then the conclusion that an absolutely new kind of defense problem requires an absolutely new solution no longer seems extraordinary.

It would probably have been very difficult for my naval ancestors to accept the idea that a day would come when aircraft would make it perilous if not impossible for surface ships to operate in the Mediterranean, but we are called upon to make a much bigger mental jump than that. We have got to hurl ourselves across the gulf which separates the age-old idea that violence is the basis of defense to the strange notion that violence has evolved to such an extent in the nuclear age that its use is self-defeating.

I have always found it extremely difficult to grasp even an elementary conception of the theory of relativity and the idea of time as a dimension, but that does not alter the verity and the importance of these new conceptions and the practical consequences which flow from them.

It may be useful if we approach the task of getting through the thought barrier in defense thinking by listing some of the most important consequences of using nuclear energy in our defense arrangements *which have never been present before in the make-up of the defense problem.*

I. The degree of violence produced by large nuclear weapons is so enormous it is in a totally different class from conven-

tional violence. It exceeds all bounds of conceivable usefulness since one cannot defend one's way of life by destroying all life.

The British Government recognizes this because, as Prime Minister Macmillan has said, if H-bombs were ever used it would mean our policy has failed. I challenge anyone to assert that at any previous time in our history the Government has told us that if the armed forces were used in a major conflict both the enemy and ourselves would inevitably be destroyed, and that to use the armed forces in action would mean that the purpose for which we kept these forces had failed!

II. We have been told officially that the British armed forces cannot defend the nation but hope to be able to defend themselves so that, either while the nation is being destroyed or immediately afterward, a like fate will embrace the enemy.

Fifteen Minutes' Warning

III. It has never been possible for one belligerent to launch a completely devastating attack on another at an hour's notice. This is the present situation and indeed an hour is an understatement. *When* Britain gets the new long-range radar system, we may get four minutes' warning and the Americans will get fifteen minutes.

In the pre-nuclear age, weeks—and more recently days—were required for mobilization, concentrations, warlike preparations, etc. We are told today when civil defense is criticized that we may hope to count on "several days of mounting tension." This is no more than a hope, and what proves that it is only a hope is that both sides keep a proportion of their large-scale nuclear striking force in a state of split-second readiness for action. Those who believe in the present defense system have no choice in this matter. Ideally, all of the bomber force would always be in the air and better still there would be satellites permanently in orbit which could be precipitated down onto a target. The British delegate at the disarmament conference in 1960 said that this development had not yet occurred but might occur sometime in the future.

IV. The testing of nuclear weapons in peacetime creates dangers to man. This is certainly a novel state of affairs and although scientists may differ as to the degree of damage done by fallout from nuclear tests no one claims tests are beneficial. In pre-nuclear days one could put up a red flag and warn the public to keep out of the target area, which was limited in extent. H-bomb tests require thousands of square miles of testing area and the fallout is worldwide and of long duration.

V. Our nuclear power stations are a grave defense risk. This novelty is interesting because it links up the peaceful use of nuclear energy with nuclear weapons. A nuclear power station is, of course, at a fixed and publicly known spot and therefore under missile control from a potential enemy. In a recent test, the Soviet Union claimed (and it is no longer prudent to dismiss their claims as propaganda) that they placed a rocket head within 11½ miles of a target 8,000 miles from the firing point. Thus there is the unpleasant possibility that an enemy H-bomb in the vicinity of one of these power stations would cause a secondary explosion and fallout of a devastating character. Nor should it be forgotten that even in conventional war the bombing of an atomic power station with 1945 bombs could easily be a national disaster, which is an additional reason going to show that, if one uses nuclear energy for *peaceful* or military purposes, the use of violence (conventional or nuclear) is absurd and dangerous.

VI. The use of nuclear energy for military purposes as a deterrent has turned inside-out the whole pre-nuclear idea of keeping our weapons secret. But we still create elaborate security arrangements to prevent our potential enemy from having the information we ought to be most anxious he should know if he is to be deterred! And we send to prison individuals who (perhaps for baser reasons) are caught telling the Russians details of our ability to obliterate them.

The Irrevocable Decision

VII. Another new factor in the nuclear age is that if rockets and guided missiles are once launched—perhaps due to a genuine

misunderstanding—they cannot be recalled during their time of flight of 15-45 minutes. Once committed to a nuclear attack the moment of no return occurs as the launching process begins.

In pre-nuclear operations there were gradations between the beginning of operations and full-scale and continuous assault. In the recent example of the Suez adventure there were threats—delays—concentration of force—selective bombing—an armed invasion—a small advance along the canal—a phased withdrawal. All these gradations of the use of violence are impossible in nuclear war. It is all or nothing.

VIII. Pressing the button. In nuclear war it is a solemn fact that the decision to destroy civilization must be taken by one man or a very small group of men.

I have already pointed out that, since in the case of the West several major nations and many smaller ones are involved, this makes it almost impossible to suppose that there can be one or at the most two buttons (U.S.A. and U.K.) which President and/or Prime Minister would press, and that this detracts from the credibility of the deterrent. But even if it be assumed that there are or could be two buttons, it is obvious that in the nuclear age there can be no question of a debate in the House of Commons about a declaration of war. And in nuclear war neither Government nor House of Commons would be in a position to debate (on this earth) whether the decision to go to nuclear war had been wise. We do not know how matters stand on the other side of the Iron Curtain. All one can say with reasonable certainty is that it seems likely that the top man in a totalitarian regime is in a somewhat less inhibited position when it comes to button-pressing than is a democratic leader.

History has still to reveal to what extent the Russian threat to use rockets against Britain at the time of Suez had a deterrent effect on the British Cabinet's decision to call off the adventure. On balance I feel that the Russian deterrent is more credible in Washington and London, than the Allied deterrent is in Moscow, and it is worth remembering that according to the theory of the Great Deterrent it must be equally credible at each end so as to create a balanced deadlock of terror.

IX. Tactical nuclear weapons. It has always been difficult to fight limited wars, since military campaigns have an inborn tendency to become unlimited. One thing leads to another. But it is quite a new situation when we have a weapon for tactical operations which is almost certain to snowball very quickly up into the use of a strategical weapon or operation, whose so-called defense value is that it is never to be used because if it were all is lost!

Whom the Gods Would Destroy

Verily those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. And I sometimes wonder whether mankind is not pretty close to the borderline.

Alternatively, perhaps I and those who think like me are insane? It could be, but at any rate we are mad or sane enough to dislike the defense of our way of life being based on the notion that in order to protect this way of life we must convince its potential enemies that we are prepared to commit suicide.

If the United States Disarmed Too

"I am strongly of the opinion that if the U.S.A. would join the U.K. in what would then become virtually a declaration by the whole free world that nuclear energy was not going to be used for military purposes, the Soviet leaders would be left beating the air. . . . The maintenance of international tension is a very vital need of the Soviet leaders, just as, ironical though it may be, Stalin's menaces were essential for the production of the climate of opinion in the West which caused NATO to be created.

". . . I do not believe it would be possible for the Soviet leaders to call upon the Russian people to go forth and conquer the world for predatory reasons, after plugging propaganda for thirty years to the effect that it is Russia, the peace-loving nation, which is menaced by the Imperialists."

—Stephen King-Hall, in **Defense in the Nuclear Age.**

potpourri

Strategies for Social Change

THE SUCCESSFUL use of nonviolent direct action in the Southern sit-ins proves conclusively that techniques devised by Gandhi on the other side of the world are relevant to the American scene. There is a danger, however, that the conspicuous success of direct action methods will lead us to the conclusion that they represent the best method of social change in all situations and for all persons. The following analysis suggests that such a conclusion would be unfortunately oversimplified.

American society, like all societies, is organized into a hierarchical power structure which operates chiefly from the top down. In order to bring about changes in the *status quo*, the powers-that-be may be overthrown by revolutionary means, but that is a rare and costly procedure. Normally the means to securing social change is to influence the responsible officials so that they change their policies. So the question becomes, "How can the elite be influenced?"

There is no single answer to this question but rather differing answers depending on the social position of the pacifist. If his position is low, he can't expect the elite to pay much attention to him as an individual. This inability to command attention and respect is compounded when his social position is not simply low but actually that of an outcaste (as in the case of many racial minorities around the world). Then by definition he cannot expect to gain an audience as an individual. So his only recourse is to join with his fellows in mass demonstrations which attract attention through numbers to make up for the ineffectiveness of the individual.

Gandhi developed a technique suitable for the native people of colonial India in dealing with their British rulers. His method is equally appropriate for the native of South Africa in the face of government oppression and for Southern Negroes dealing with unsympathetic white officials and businessmen.

What if the pacifist is not Indian, Bantu or Negro but British, Afrikaner, or a white Southerner? Then should he join the picket line to demonstrate his solidarity with the struggle of the underdog for freedom and equality? Perhaps, if demonstrating his beliefs is all he is after. But if he is really concerned to help the underdog achieve those goals, perhaps he should look more closely at what he is doing. Perhaps he is neglecting more effective ways of influencing the elite.

A high status pacifist who belongs to the same in-group as the person to be influenced is likely to have opportunities to express his views to the powers-that-be. A white customer, for example, can call upon the store manager, or a white voter can call on his Congressman to present his views. The very fact that he is white gives him an entree. If he is middle-class, too, like most American pacifists, so much the better. The higher his social status, the more cordial his reception is likely to be.

Should pacifists make such approaches in groups or singly? Should they go as the official representative of their organization or speak on their own behalf? I suspect the official will be most impressed if the pacifist acts as an individual person rather than speaking for a group (unless that group happens to be large, respectable, and powerful). If the pacifist speaks as one person to another, the official is most likely to be open-minded, to listen to what is said, and to allow himself to be influenced.

POTPOURRI, as its name implies, is a mixture. The purpose of this section in FELLOWSHIP is to provide space for pieces that are too brief to warrant inclusion as regular articles, for an occasional "letter to the editor" that is too long for inclusion in our "Letters" page, and for other miscellany that does not quite fit into the established categories but which the Editors consider worthy of publication.

it. What is needed is a person-to-person nfrontation within which the moral in-ience of the pacifist is brought to bear the official.

The ideal way of carrying out this moral rsuasion is face-to-face in the privacy of e official's office or home. This is the aboring" with Quaker slaveholders that hn Woolman carried on from plantation plantation. This is the process of per-asion which E. Raymond Wilson of the riends Committee on National Legisla-on uses with Senators and Congressmen their Washington offices, and which paci-sts use when visiting those same represen-tives at home between Congressional ses-ons. When face-to-face contact is not pos-ble, personal letters (not mass petitions) e the closest approximation.

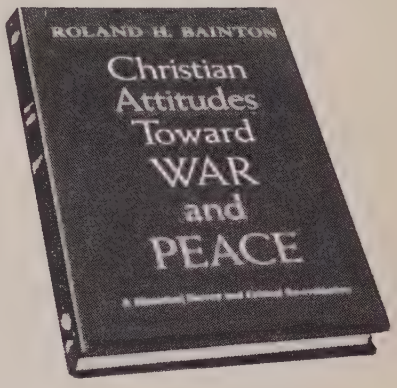
I am afraid that many of us lack the urage to take such a personal stand, that e would rather have the solidarity of a roup or organization behind us on the icket line. It's easier to carry a sign with slogan on it than to engage in close-up ebate. We are not sure of our ability to ason with the "enemy" or of our ability listen to his counter-arguments without sing our tempers.

The very fact of these difficulties in per-nal persuasion is a secret of its effective-ess. A responsible official is apt to ad-mire the personal initiative and courage of lone persuader, whereas he fears and re-nts mass demonstrations and impersonal rganizations. Beginning in a more recep-ive frame of mind, he becomes less de-ensive and more understanding of what s said. The higher the social status of the acifist, the more influential his arguments will be, an influence that would be largely diluted in a mass setting. But the impor-ant factor is not "pulling rank" but en-aging in man-to-man confrontation.

If this analysis is correct, there are not ne but two methods of social change open o the pacifist. For members of minority roups there is nonviolent direct action on mass basis. For members of the majority, here is personal persuasion on an individ-ual basis. For the former, Gandhi is the roper model, but the majority may have more to learn from Woolman.

—Robert O. Blood Jr.

Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace



by Roland H.
BAINTON

This is a historical survey and critical re-evaluation of the three attitudes toward war which have been espoused by the Christian church—pacifism, the just war, and the crusade. Dr. Bainton, in the process of determining which of these attitudes is relevant to the atomic age, gives a spirited defense of pacifism. He examines the claims and rights of the Christian conscience, and the compatibility of military service with the Christian ethic.

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BOOKS

The Quest for Community

PATHS IN UTOPIA by Martin Buber. Beacon 1958. 152 pp., paperback. $1.50.

The Utopian socialists have been ridiculed and discredited by Marxists and political theorists of all varieties. Martin Buber, however, reinterprets such men as Proudhon, Kropotkin, Robert Owen and Fourier in an effort to unite and synthesize the major contributions of each to socialist theory. Saint-Simon is responsible for the idea that the leadership of society "should proceed from the social functions themselves, without the political order superimposing itself as an essentially distinct and special class." Fourier and Owen insist that this is possible only "in a society based on joint production and consumption." In this respect the cooperative movement is inadequate unless consumers' and producers' cooperatives are united in the same people so that "production and consumption are united and industry is complemented by agriculture." Buber denies that Proudhon and Kropotkin were anarchists. They advocated "not absence of government but absence of domination." This is possible only through the transformation of society.

"We must begin," Buber asserts, "with the establishment of a vital peace which will deprive the political principle of its supremacy over the social principle." This means that we must avoid "the danger of a gigantic centralization of power covering the whole planet and devouring all free community. Everything depends on not handing the work of planetary management over to the political principle."

He advocates a socialist society based on community of a decentralized sort and presents a valuable critique of centralism such as seen in the Soviet Union and in much of Marxist thought. "The primary aspiration of all history is a genuine community of human beings. . . ." He points out that "community—not the primitive sort, but the sort possible and appropriate to modern man—declares itself primarily in the common and active management of what it has in common. . . ." The nearest thing to such a modern community now in existence is the Jewish village commun in Palestine.

Buber recognizes the importance of community of faith which, he says, "trul exists only when it is a community o work."

Paths in Utopia not only analyzes th Utopian socialists and sets forth criteri for a democratic socialist society; it al contains a brilliant analysis of Marx an his successors. They accepted some of th goals of the Utopians while choosing met ods that moved away from those goals. Th hope of the withering away of the stat was nullified by building communism i a highly centralized state.

This paperback edition is a valuable co tribution to socialist thought, to politic philosophy and to all those who believ that the purpose of religion is communit

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR

Beyond "Arms Control"

WHO WANTS DISARMAMENT? by Richard J. Barnet. Beacon 1960. 140 pp., $3.50.

Complete disarmament down to interna police forces rather than any scheme o mere reduction is the goal of this book. I is significant that it should be written by staff member of the Harvard University Research Center with the assistance o others in that center and with the endorse ment of Chester Bowles.

It combines an effective analysis of Rus sian national interest with respect to dis armament with the best analysis of the background and present disarmament situ aiton yet published by an American author

There are some real weaknesses in the book. For example, the author makes the mistake of asserting that the demobilization following World War II was "de facto dis armament." Our atomic monopoly, our su perior air forces and a navy larger than the rest of the world's combined belie this. There is an analysis of the Baruch plan from an American point of view but none of the European objections to it or to Baruch's handling of it in the UN is men tioned.

The author ably tells of Washington's propaganda interest in disarmament, with

ut ever having done the planning for seri-
us negotiations. Yet he omits an analysis
f the devices such as "the package pro-
osal," which the U.S. used to prevent
oviet acceptance of our proposals. He de-
ries the Soviet refusal to accept an inter-
ational police force to enforce disarma-
ent provisions but does not demonstrate
he necessity of such enforcement in a
orld completely disarmed.

Among the many virtues of the book are
he arguments for disarmament instead of
rms control and for professional civilian
ather than military planning for disarma-
ent. The author is obviously not an advo-
ate of unilateral disarmament and the
ook is therefore not a pacifist treatise. It
s rather the kind of book that is likely to
e convincing to those who have simply
ccepted a newspaper view of the arms race
nd have had no clear-cut basis on which
o analyze the disarmament problem. It is
lso important pacifist reading since it
ontains information and arguments paci-
sts should have at their fingertips.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Briefly Noted

Strategy for Survival by Wayland Young (Penguin 1959. 95 pp., 65c) is the argument of a young Englishman for the "non-nuclear club" proposal made last year by Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell as a compromise between unilateral nuclear disarmament and the suicidal status quo. In it, he gives pacifism short shrift and misinterprets nonviolence as "defense by scowling." This paperback is of interest for the facts it contains as well as for the example it provides of the effort of many liberals to get all the benefits of nuclear disarmament without really trying.

George Fox and the Quakers by Henry van Etten (Harper 1959. 191 pp., $1.35) is a profusely illustrated paperback that traces the Religious Society of Friends from its origins through the nineteenth century and provides an all-too-brief sketch of Quakerism in the world of today. More than half the book is devoted to the life of George Fox and his contemporaries. For this it is informative, but readers seeking an introduction to Quakerism will tend to be confirmed in the popular notion that it is a

"A very impressive work"

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

THREE PATHS OF GOD AND MAN

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phenomenon that has seen its day and is now embalmed in history. The chronological table at the back ends in 1718 with the death of William Penn. There are thirty pages of quotations from the writings of Quakers from Fox to Pierre Ceresole that illuminate the distinctive character of the Friends' religion and philosophy.

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The Will to Peace

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

Maus so impressed them that they gave him every courtesy. Disarmament and nonviolence might revolutionize the world's behavior.

"But if not . . ." These words were spoken by the three Jewish youths who were commanded by Nebuchadnezzar to worship his image on pain of being cast into a fiery furnace. They answered that their God was able to deliver them from the hand of the king and from his burning fiery furnace. "But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

"But if not . . ." If the threat of massive retaliation were removed, there is the possibility that tyranny might expand. The contemplation is the more grievous for American Christians because the first blow would be felt not by ourselves but by West Germany. The young of that land would be subject to propaganda and penalization under such pressures that their humanitarian ideals and Christian faith might crumble. The prospect is grim, but our sense of guilt for not affording them military defense is diminished by the fact that to defend them would spell their annihilation. If they and later we were subjected to an expanding Communism, what would emerge after a century is difficult to foresee. This only we know, that the spirit of man is resurgent, and that more than once in history the descendants of conquerors have looked upon themselves as spiritually the sons of the conquered.

Once again the realists tell us that if we renounce power, we shall be at a disadvantage. Of course we shall. When were the scrupulous not at a disadvantage in dealing with the unscrupulous?

Shall the scrupulous then become unscrupulous in order to survive? Are we to renounce honor, shame, mercy, and compassion in order to live? The ancient pagans would not have said so. Did not Socrates declare that to suffer injustice is better than to inflict it? Shall we allow this pagan to take over the virtues which we have been wont to call Christian, while we invoke Christ to justify nuclear annihilation?

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Outside the Ivory Tower

Dear Editors:

As election time draws closer, pacifists may expect to hear many invitations similar to Alice Franklin Bryant's "Come Out of Your Ivory Tower" (FELLOWSHIP, July 1, 1960).

Realism demands that we discard the illusion of popular control of political processes in our country. As C. Wright Mills and others have pointed out, both parties are now firmly in the hands of a small power elite. Both are firmly committed to a policy of arming us to the teeth and to international policies based on force, fraud and unremitting truculence.

A tiny minority like ourselves can function in the political sphere only by aligning ourselves with other groups having similar objectives. Where, today, can we find political allies? In the unions, whose leaders know all too well which side their guns are buttered on?

What then are the fields in which the pacifist can function fruitfully? I believe that by forming voluntary, largely self-sufficient associations and communities, by counseling young people on the threshold of their careers and aiding the many individuals who have misgivings about the way they are now earning their livelihood, we can help stop the drift of the country's best brains toward inextricable involvement in the war machine. If through any word or act of mine, a single individual has been guided away from the death factories, I feel that I have achieved more than being elected to Congress.

SELMA VON HADEN
Vista, Calif.

Mennonites and Self-Defense

Dear Editors:

In A. J. Muste's article, "Their Church and Ours," in the November 1, 1959 FELLOWSHIP, reference is made (p. 5) to a statement by Jacob Zhidkov about the Russian Mennonites abandoning their nonresistance after World War I.

While we have not made any exhaustive research on the Mennonite self-defense corps which was organized by some Mennonites in

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WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, *Managing Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1960.

State of New York, County of Rockland

HARVEY L. CRANE JR.
(My commission expires March 30, 1962)

[SEAL]

the Ukraine for protection against the Makhno anarchist guerrillas, the following quotes from *The Mennonite Encylcopedia,* Volume IV, Supplement (1959) under the title "Selbstschutz" are of interest:

"On the whole . . . only a small percentage arose in self-defense."

"The majority of the Mennonite settlements did not approve of any measure of self-defense although they probably did not always protest against its use. Examples of complete nonresistance in hours of immeasurable stress and trial were furnished by the Mennonite settlements of *Terek* and *Central Asia.*"

You will see from the above that the picture given by Zhidkov was greatly exaggerated. No responsible leader of the Mennonites joined the action or approved it. There was vigorous resistance to it in every colony. The total number of persons involved was less than 2,000 out of an adult male population of at least 30,000. Over 10,000 had been in alternative CO service during the war. The self-defense corps consisted mostly of hotheaded young men. In no sense did the Mennonites as a group surrender their nonresistance, in spite of the almost unbearable provocation of the Makhno attacks which cost the lives of over 1,000 slaughtered men and women and countless rapes.

HAROLD S. BENDER, *Dean*
Goshen College Biblical Seminary
Goshen, Indiana

Fitzhugh a New Daudet?

Dear Editors:

Jewell Kirby Fitzhugh's reflections in "I Taught in Arkansas" (September 1 FELLOWSHIP, p. 21) sped me to Alsace-Lorraine. Is it possible that we have been given a literary work that may give us meanings and memories to compare with Alphonse Daudet's "The Last Lesson"? I thank Miss Fitzhugh and FELLOWSHIP for the article and urge readers who passed it by to return to it.

ROBERT STEELE
Boston, Mass.

"Crime and Conformity"

Dear Editors:

Thanks for publishing the stimulating article "Crime and Conformity" by Alfred M. Lee in your July 1 issue. There is a great need for scholarly work from a pacifist viewpoint, as Lee points out.

MARTIN PIERCE
Madison, Wisconsin

Cold War Forgotten at Olympics

Dear Editors:

It is encouraging to see reports of the Olympic Games given prominence in newspapers. Competition in wholesome amusement by athletes from around the world is unifying, and transcends the hate-provoking, ruinous arms race.

Let us have more of these virile ambassadors of goodwill.

Ah, the Olympic Games! Hurrah for our side! Hurrah for *all* sides!

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- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
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